



# FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

*An interpretation of current international events by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association*

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated

22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

VOL. XXIII, No. 27

APRIL 21, 1944

## NATIONAL REGIMES NOT A.M.G. TO RULE LIBERATED COUNTRIES

AS the belligerents gird themselves for the showdown of invasion of Western Europe, the governments of the conquered countries perfect their arrangements for that moment when they will have the opportunity of resuming administrative functions on their own soil. At an earlier stage in negotiations between Britain and the United States, on the one hand, and the exiled governments on the other, it had been assumed—especially in Washington—that during this transitional period the liberated countries would be administered by an Allied Military Government which, on the restoration of public order, would transfer its authority to native civilian administrators freely chosen by the people of each nation. This procedure, however, did not prove acceptable to the governments representing countries which had stubbornly resisted Nazi rule for several years, and had no intention of being treated on a par with Germany and its satellites.

**PREPARING FOR LIBERATION.** It now seems settled that, when Allied forces enter the countries of Western Europe—France, Belgium, Holland and Norway—they will be accompanied by civilian affairs units composed of the citizens of these countries, specially trained for a wide range of administrative duties. In anticipation of this moment, all four countries have set up special agencies concerned with internal reconstruction, which have not only mapped out plans for political readjustments, but also for relief and rehabilitation coordinated with the work of UNRRA. Similarly, the government of Czechoslovakia, whose liberation has been brought appreciably nearer by Russian advances in the Carpathian region, has worked out detailed plans both for collaboration between the Czechoslovak underground and the Red Army, and for the reconstruction of the country on the basis of close understanding with the U.S.S.R., Britain and the United States.

**AGREEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE.** The

formulation of such plans by the representatives of the countries of Western Europe and Czechoslovakia has been greatly facilitated by two factors. First, except in the case of France, a considerable measure of agreement had been achieved within each of them before the German invasion concerning the fundamental issues of national life—an agreement that has been cemented by sufferings endured in common during the war years, and enhanced by continuous communication between the governments-in-exile and the movements of resistance in their homelands. Second, owing to this very cohesion, the governments of Belgium, Holland, Norway and Czechoslovakia look forward with confidence to their return following Germany's defeat. King Haakon of Norway and Queen Wilhelmina of Holland have indicated that they will consult the wishes of their peoples in any political reorganization that may be undertaken during the post-war period; while Prime Minister Piérlot of Belgium (who expects King Leopold to resume the throne) and President Benes of Czechoslovakia have pledged themselves to submit their governments to popular plebiscites.

**EASTERN EUROPE IN TURMOIL.** In contrast to Western Europe and Czechoslovakia, where hope exists for an orderly transition from Nazi rule to free administration of a democratic character, the exiled governments of Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece continue to be rent by divergences which mirror the cleavages within their conquered homelands. These cleavages, in turn, have created serious doubts as to the return of the governments-in-exile to their countries unless they meanwhile undergo drastic reorganization. It now seems clear that Britain and the United States will have little to do with the liberation of these countries, that there will be no Anglo-American invasion of the Balkans (except possibly for British operations in the Greek islands and conceivably on the mainland of Greece), and

that Russia, rather than its Western Allies, will play a decisive role in that area. While some Western observers continue to believe that Russia will seize this opportunity to advance the cause of communism in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, evidence available so far would indicate that the Russians are willing to work with any group, whatever its political complexion, which is ready to speed the end of the war and to collaborate in a friendly spirit with the U.S.S.R. in the post-war period. This policy has already been followed by Moscow with respect to the Badoglio government, whose broadening—through the admission of representatives of the six-party junta which includes Communists—was advocated by Soviet Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs Vishinsky on April 16. The following day the Badoglio cabinet resigned, thus clearing the way for the formation of the wider coalition urged by the Allies.

At this critical moment, when the groups that are to participate in the reconstruction of Europe are coalescing or emerging from hiding, it is important for Americans to bear three considerations in mind. First of all, our experience in Italy clearly demonstrates the difficulties that would be faced by any Allied commission in trying to take over the administration of liberated countries. It is therefore highly desirable that the civilian administration of the United Nations in Europe should be carried out to as great an extent as possible by native administrators, provided, of course, that they do not interfere with military operations. As it is, Allied administrators will have their hands full in trying to rule, even temporarily, over Italy, Germany, and Axis satellites.

In the second place, it is important for Americans of European origin to realize that the future of their

former homelands must be determined primarily by those who live there, not by Americans. It seems unfortunate, for example, that citizens of Italian origin should threaten the present Administration with loss of their political support because the American government, in conformity with public opinion here, has sought to broaden the base of the Badoglio government. The sooner the Italians themselves can administer their own affairs, the better. But there is considerable confusion among those Americans who, one day, berate the United States for strengthening the position of Badoglio, and the next attack it for urging the inclusion of other elements in the Badoglio government—just because they happen not to approve of some of these elements.

And, finally, we must be prepared for many disappointments and deceptions in the return of Europe to non-Fascist and non-Nazi forms of administration. Years of repression and terror, the execution or imprisonment of active or potential leaders of democratic movements, sheer physical fatigue and moral discouragement, have taken their toll of Europe's populations. Time and patience will be required before we can see the flowering on the continent of institutions and practices resembling those of Britain and the United States. The most tragic thing that could happen now would be for us to become discouraged about prospects for democracy in Europe. These prospects exist, the seed of liberty is strong—but whether it will grow and burgeon will depend on the measure of faith we can show in the peoples of that ravaged continent, and the degree of assistance we are ready to give those groups which show themselves genuinely concerned with the welfare of their peoples.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

## PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE TO DETERMINE ROLE OF I.L.O.

The International Labor Conference, which opened in Philadelphia on April 20, was convened by the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization in the belief that the war situation makes it imperative that "consideration should be given to the social problems that will arise during the last period of the war and after the close of hostilities." While the prepared agenda of the conference is far-reaching in scope, I.L.O. officials do not aim at the adoption of precise international conventions as has been done in the past. Instead, it is expected that special attention will be given to a restatement of the purposes and procedures of the I.L.O., which may go far toward determining the competence of the organization in the broader field of financial and economic problems that bear upon labor standards and social security.

**REPRESENTATIVES AT THE CONFERENCE.** Approximately forty countries were expected to at-

tend the conference, although the official delegations of all these nations had not been announced at the time of the opening session. Every effort has been made by I.L.O. officials to arrange for the presence of delegates from the U.S.S.R., which automatically ceased to be an I.L.O. member when it was expelled from the League of Nations in December 1939, after its attack on Finland. Before the meetings, controversy developed over seating the Argentine delegation, as well as applicants from the Italian government.

The I.L.O. is a unique international organization in that it affords representation not only to governments but also to employers and workers—the functional groups directly concerned with the problems with which it deals. Because of this, the full slate of the United States delegation was determined only after a controversy regarding the labor delegate had been ended by the withdrawal of a demand on the

part of the Congress of Industrial Organizations that it be represented in the American delegation along with the American Federation of Labor. On April 16 President Roosevelt named Mr. Robert J. Watt, International Representative of the A.F.L. since 1936, as sole representative of organized labor. Mr. Henry I. Harriman, vice chairman of the New England Power Association and former president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, was appointed the employer delegate, while Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah were named as government representatives.

**AGENDA PLANNED IN LONDON.** The agenda for the present conference was prepared by the Governing Body of the I.L.O. in London last December. Support for the program outlined in the agenda was given by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden when he said: "I hope to see the I.L.O. become the main instrument for giving effect to Article V of the Atlantic Charter [freedom from want]." Mr. Eden stated further that "your Organization will no doubt scrutinize plans for economic and financial reconstruction from the point of view of the social objectives at which you aim."

On this broad basis the discussions of the conference center on the following agenda: (1) future policy, program and status of the I.L.O.; (2) recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy; (3) organization of employment in the transition from war to peace; (4) social security: principles, and problems arising out of the war; and (5) minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.

**FUTURE OF THE I.L.O.** Although the breadth of the plans envisaged under the agenda is to be welcomed, little evidence other than Mr. Eden's general statement has been given by the governments most vitally concerned that any such program of action is

to devolve upon the I.L.O. It must also be admitted that there has been little time in the four months since the London meeting to investigate fully all of the problems raised. More specifically, the Allied governments are far from agreement on such matters as the maintenance of stable exchange rates, the creation of an international development bank, international arrangements regarding the world's oil resources, and the appointment of Labor Commissioners in areas liberated from Axis domination. These and other proposals made by the International Labor Office are to be discussed during the Philadelphia meeting.

It thus does not appear that the United Nations are prepared to enlarge the authority of the I.L.O. to include direction or supervision of broader economic matters. The creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration suggests that, at least in the immediate reconstruction period, new agencies will be set up to deal with specific problems, instead of entrusting these problems to already existing agencies. However, the minimum proposal—that the director of the I.L.O. be authorized to submit an annual report on economic and financial developments throughout the world—may win support. The present supervisory functions of the Organization with regard to labor and social welfare standards would be enhanced by such powers of "scrutiny," however limited.

Much interest attaches to whatever changes may be effected in this autonomous organ of the League of Nations, with its long experience in international collaboration and its unique method of functional representation. Although its powers may not be greatly enlarged, definition of its future status gives significance to the present discussions which may, albeit indirectly, clarify intended action on the part of the United Nations in the post-war period.

GRANT S. MCCLELLAN

*Nothing will be more important in the realization of an expanding world economy in peacetime than settlement of the Lend-Lease problem. For an analysis of the contribution of Lend-Lease to victory and the peace, and an outline of a Lend-Lease settlement, read:*

**REACHING A LEND-LEASE SETTLEMENT**  
by Howard P. Whidden, Jr.

**25c**

April 15 issue of FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS  
REPORTS are issued on the 1st and 15th of each month.  
Subscription \$5; to F.P.A. members, \$3.

*The American Way*, edited by Dagobert D. Runes. New York, Philosophical Library, 1944. \$1.50

An interesting selection of excerpts from President Roosevelt's public speeches and letters, designed to show the principles motivating his actions.

*Betrayal from the East*, by Alan Hynd. New York, Robert M. McBride, 1943. \$3.00

Describes Japanese espionage in the United States as excitingly as in his earlier book on similar German activities.

*Top Hats and Tom-Toms*, by Elizabeth D. Furbay. Chicago, Ziff-Davis, 1943. \$3.00

Vivid description of life in the American-Liberian coastal strip, with bits of Liberia's historic background.

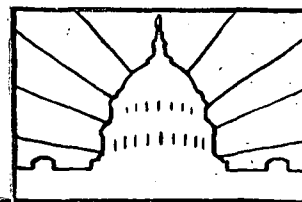
FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN. Vol. XXIII, No. 27, APRIL 21, 1944. Published weekly by the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated. National Headquarters, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. FRANK ROSS MCCOY, *President*; DOROTHY F. LEET, *Secretary*; VERA MICHELES DEAN, *Editor*. Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Three Dollars a Year. Please allow at least one month for change of address on membership publications.

F. P. A. Membership (which includes the Bulletin), Five Dollars a Year  
Produced under union conditions and composed and printed by union labor.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# Washington News Letter



APRIL 17.—The forthcoming commercial negotiations between a German trade mission, which is to arrive in Ankara on April 29, and the Turkish government will test current Allied efforts to reduce the trade of European neutrals with the Axis. On April 13 the United States and Britain delivered notes to Sweden and Turkey, requesting the termination of shipments to Germany of ball-bearings and chrome, respectively. Previously the United States had asked Eire to send home Axis diplomats in Dublin,\* and Washington and London had asked Portugal and Spain to cease shipping wolfram to Germany. Secretary of State Cordell Hull on April 9 stated American policy toward neutrals: "We can no longer acquiesce in these nations' drawing upon the resources of the Allied world when they at the same time contribute to the death of troops whose sacrifice contributes to their salvation as well as our own."

**NEUTRALS FACE DIFFICULTIES.** As the United States found out during its periods of neutrality in 1914-17 and 1939-41, belligerents and neutrals seldom agree on the nature of neutral rights. Secretary of State Lansing on December 1, 1916 emphasized that impartiality should be the essence of neutrality: "It is not the part of a neutral to sit in judgment or to compare the conduct of belligerents in carrying on hostile operations against one another." The belligerent, however, may sit in judgment on the neutral. According to Hyde's *International Law*, "in a broad sense neutral territory becomes a base of operations whenever it is a source or station from which a belligerent state as such augments its power of doing harm to the enemy." The true neutral tries to guide its conduct by established principles, while the belligerent often acts on considerations of expediency.

Allied exasperation with any neutral country whose activities are helpful to the Axis is understandable. Modern war is a struggle between factories as well as between armies, navies and airplanes. To destroy enemy factories the USAAF and the RAF are bombing German industrial centers night and day; to starve enemy factories of essential raw materials the Allies blockade Europe. But the Allies cannot blockade overland shipments within Europe. Thus Germany obtains Turkish chrome for making armor plate and high-speed cutting tools, and Portuguese and Spanish wolfram for hardening

its war steels. Having for years bought ball-bearings in Sweden, where they were invented, the Germans seek them more urgently than ever now that the Allies are bombing German ball-bearing factories.

On the other hand, international law accords the neutral a recognized status, which neutral nations have an understandable desire to preserve. The Hague Convention of 1907, in Article VII, stated that "a neutral power is not bound to prevent the export [by private concerns] in transit, for the use of either belligerent of arms, ammunitions, or, in general, of anything which could be of use to an army or fleet." Article VI, however, forbids neutral governments to supply a belligerent with "war material of any kind."

The Allies' position with respect to Sweden is complicated by the fact that in September 1943 the United States signed a trade agreement with that country which recognized the existence of commerce between Sweden and Germany. Sweden agreed at that time to cut in half its ball-bearing exports to Germany for 1944, although the Nazis had requested that the 1943 shipments be doubled. While Sweden—like Turkey, Spain and Portugal—draws on the resources of the Allied world through trade with the United States and other United Nations, it also draws on resources controlled by the Axis. Sweden, heavily industrialized, depends on Germany for coal to keep its factories going. Turkey depends on Germany for machinery parts and dozens of consumer commodities.

**REACTION OF NEUTRALS.** Although each belligerent makes the same sort of demand on neutrals, the latter stubbornly cling to their right to remain neutral. Through quiet diplomacy the United States has obtained a number of concessions from neutrals but, when neutrals have refused to comply with requests that seemed essential for the military security of the Allies, the Administration has resorted to blunt, public dealings with them. This has not always proved successful. The reaction of the Stockholm press to the Allied representation indicated that Sweden would reject last week's note. On April 16, however, it was reported from London that Turkey has suspended the license for exporting chrome to Germany, pending official inquiries this week.

BLAIR BOLLES

\*See S. S. Hayden, "Allies Move to Safeguard Invasion Plans by Isolating Eire," *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, March 17, 1944.

(The last in a series of four articles on American foreign policy.)

**FOR VICTORY • BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS**